

The Philanthropist.

JAMES G. BIRNEY.]

We are verily guilty concerning our brother *** therefore, is this distress come upon us.

[EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.]

VOLUME I.

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NUMBER I.

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Slave-Holder's Department.

EXTRACT FROM GOVERNOR M'DUFFIE'S
MESSAGE.

Since your last adjournment, the public mind, throughout the slaveholding States, has been intensely, indignantly and justly excited, by the wanton, officious and incendiary proceedings of societies and persons, in some of the non-slaveholding States, who have been actively employed in attempting to circulate among us, pamphlets, papers and pictorial representations of the most offensive and inflammatory character, and eminently calculated to seduce our slaves from their fidelity, and excite them to insurrection and massacre. These wicked monsters and deluded lunatics, overlooking the numerous objects in their own vicinity who have moral, if not legal claims upon their charitable regard, run abroad in the expansion of their hypocritical benevolence, muffled up in the saintly mantle of christian meekness to fulfil the fiend-like errand of mingling the blood of the master and the slave, to whose state they are equally indifferent, with the smouldering ruins of our peaceful dwellings. No principle of human action so utterly baffles all human calculation, as that species of fanatical enthusiasm, which is made up of envy and ambition, assuming the guise of religious zeal, and acting upon the known prejudices—religious or political, of an ignorant multitude.—Under the influence of this species of voluntary madness, nothing is sacred that stands in the way of its purposes. Like all other religious impostures, it has power to consecrate every act, however atrocious, and every person, however covered over with "multiplying villainies" that may promote its diabolical ends, or worship at its infernal altars. By its unholy creed, murder itself becomes a labor of love and charity, and the felon renegade who flies from the justice of his country, finds not only a refuge, but becomes a sainted minister, in the sanctuary of its temple. No error can be more mischievous than to underrate the danger of such a principle, and no policy can be more fatal than to neglect it, from a contempt for the supposed insignificance of its agents. The experience of both France and Great Britain, fearfully instructive, that what small and contemptible beginnings, the *ami des noirs* philanthropy may rise to a gigantic power, too mighty to be resisted by all the influence and energy of the government.—In the one case, shrouding a wealthy and flourishing island in the blood of its white inhabitants; in the other, literally driving the ministry, by means of an instructed Parliament, to perpetrate that act of suicidal legislation and colonial oppression, the emancipation of slaves in the British West Indies. It may be not unaptly compared to the element of fire, of which a neglected spark, amongst combustible materials, which a timely stamp of the foot might have extinguished forever, speedily swells into a sweeping torrent of fiery desolation, which no human power can arrest or control. In the opinion of intelligent West India planters, it is because the local authorities, from a sense of false security, neglected to hang up the first of these political missionaries that made their appearance on the British Islands, that they are doomed to barrenness and desertion, and to the wretched abodes of indolent and profligate blacks, exhibiting in their squalid poverty, gross immorality and slavish subjection to an iron despotism of British bayonets, the fatal mockery of all the promised blessings of emancipation.

Under these circumstances, and in this critical juncture of our affairs, the solemn and responsible duty devolves on the legislature, of "taking care that the Republic receive no detriment."

The crime which these foreign incendiaries have committed against the State, is one of the very highest grade known to human laws. It not only strikes at the very existence of society, but seeks to accomplish the catastrophe by the most horrible means, celebrating the obsequies of the State in a saturnial carnival of blood and murder; and while brutally violating all the charities of life, and desecrating the very altars of religion, impiously calling upon Heaven to sanction these abominations.

It is my deliberate opinion, that laws of every community should punish this species of interference by death without benefit of clergy, regarding the authors of it as enemies of the human race. Nothing could be more appropriate, than for South Carolina to set this example in the present crisis, and I trust the legislature will not adjourn till it discharges this high duty of patriotism.

It cannot be disguised, however, that any laws which may be enacted by the authority of this State, however adequate to punish and repress offences committed within its limits, will be wholly insufficient to meet the exigencies of the present conjuncture. If we go no further than this, we had as well do nothing.

These outrages against the peace and safety of the State, are perpetrated in other communities, which hold and exercise sovereign and exclusive jurisdiction over all persons and things within their territorial limits. It is within these limits, protected from responsibility to our laws, by the sovereignty of the States in which they reside, that the authors of all this mischief, securely conduct their schemes, plant their batteries, and hurl their fiery missiles among us, aimed at that mighty magazine of combustible matter, the explosion of which would lay the State in ruins.

It will, therefore, become our imperative duty, recurring to those great principles of international law, which still exist in all their primitive force amongst the sovereign States of this confederacy, to demand of our sovereign associates the condign punishment of those enemies of our peace, who avail themselves of the sanctuaries of their respective jurisdictions to carry on schemes of incendiary hostility against the institutions, the safety, and the existence of the State. In performing this high duty, to which we are constrained by the great law of self-preservation, let us approach our co-states with all the fraternal mildness which becomes us as members of the same family of confederated republics, and at the same time with that firmness and decision, which become a sovereign State, while maintaining her dearest interests, and most sacred rights.

For the institution of domestic slavery, we hold ourselves responsible only to God, and it is utterly incompatible with the dignity and the safety of the State, to permit any foreign authority to question our right to maintain it. It may nevertheless be

appropriate, as a voluntary token of respect for the opinions of our confederated brethren, to represent some views to their consideration on this subject, calculated to disabuse their minds of false opinions and pernicious prejudices.

No human institution, in my opinion, is more manifestly consistent with the will of God, than domestic slavery, and no one of his ordinances is written in more legible characters, than that which consigns the African race to this condition, as more conducive to their own happiness, than any other of which they are susceptible. Whether we consult the sacred Scriptures, or the lights of nature and reason, we shall find these truths as abundantly apparent, as if written with sunbeam in the heavens. Under both Jewish and Christian dispensations of our religion, domestic slavery existed with the unequivocal sanction of its prophets, its apostles, and finally its great Author. The patriarchs themselves, those chosen instruments of God, were slaveholders. In fact, the divine sanction of this institution is so plainly written that "he who runs might read" it; and those over righteous pretenders and Pharisees, who affect to be scandalized by its existence among us, would do well to enquire how much more nearly they walk in the ways of godliness, than did Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. That the African negro is destined by Providence to occupy this condition of servile dependence, is not less manifest. It is marked on the face, stamped on the skin, and evinced by the intellectual inferiority, and natural improvidence of his race. They have all the qualities that fit them for slaves, and not one of those that fit them to be freemen. They are utterly unqualified, not only for national freedom, but for self-government of any kind. They are in all respects, physical, moral, and political, inferior to millions of the human race, who have for consecutive ages, dragged out a wretched existence under a grinding political despotism, and who are doomed to this hopeless condition by the very qualities which unfit them for a better. It is utterly astonishing that any enlightened American, after contemplating all the manifold forms in which even the white race of mankind are doomed to slavery and oppression, should suppose it possible to reclaim the Africans from their destiny. The capacity to enjoy freedom, is an attribute not to be communicated by human power. It is an endowment of God and one of the rarest which it has pleased his inscrutable wisdom to bestow on the nations of the earth. It is conferred as a reward of merit, and only upon those who are qualified to enjoy it. Until the "Ethiopian can change his skin," it will be vain to attempt, by any human power, to make freemen of those whom God has doomed to be slaves, by all their attributes.

Let not, therefore, the misguided and designing intermeddlers, who seek to destroy our peace, imagine that they are serving the cause of God by practically arraigning the decrees of his providence. Indeed, it would scarcely excite surprise, if with the impious audacity of those who projected the tower of Babel, they should attempt to scale the battlements of heaven, and remonstrate with the God of wisdom for having put the mark of Cain and the curse of Ham upon the African race, instead of the European.

If the benevolent friends of the black race would compare the condition of that portion of them which we hold in servitude, with that which still remains in Africa, totally unblemished by the lights of civilization and christianity, and equally destitute of hope and of happiness, they would be able to form some tolerable estimate of what our blacks have lost by slavery in America, and what they would gain by freedom in Africa. Greatly as their condition has been improved, by their subjection to an enlightened and christian people, (and only made under heaven by which it could have been accomplished,) they are yet wholly unprepared for any thing like a rational system of self government. Emancipation would be a positive curse, depriving them of a guardianship essential to their happiness, and they may well say in the language of the Spanish proverb, "save us from our friends and we will take care of our enemies." If emancipated, where would they live, and what could be their condition? The idea of their remaining among us is utterly visionary. Amalgamation is abhorrent to every sentiment of nature; and if they remain as a separate caste, whether endowed with equal privileges or not, will become our masters, or we must resume our mastery over them. This state of political amalgamation and conflict which the abolitionists evidently aim to produce, would be the most horrible condition imaginable, and would furnish Dante or Milton with the type for another chapter, illustrating the horrors of the infernal regions. The only disposition therefore that could make of our emancipated slaves, would be their transportation to Africa, to exterminate the natives, or be exterminated by them; contingencies, either of which may well serve to illustrate the wisdom, if not the philanthropy, of those super-servicable madmen, who, in the name of humanity, would desolate the fairest region of the earth, and destroy the most perfect system of social and political happiness that ever has existed. It is perfectly evident that the destiny of the negro race is either the worst possible form of political slavery, or domestic servitude as it exists in the slaveholding States.

The advantage of domestic slavery over the most favorable condition of political slavery, does not admit of a question. It is the obvious interest of the master, not less than his duty, to provide comfortable food and clothing for his slaves; and whatever false and exaggerated stories may be promulgated by mercenary travellers who make a trade of exchanging calumny for hospitality, the peasantry and operatives of no country in the world are better provided for in these respects, than the slaves of our country. In the single empire of Great Britain, the most free and enlightened nation in Europe, there are more wretched paupers and half starving operatives, than there are slaves in the United States. In all respects, the comforts of our slaves are greatly superior to those of the English operatives, or the Irish and Continental peasantry, to say nothing of the millions of paupers crowded together in those loathsome receptacles of starving humanity, the public poor houses. Besides the hardships of incessant toil, too much almost for human nature to endure, and the sufferings of actual want driving them almost to despair, these miserable creatures are perfectly annoyed by the most distressing cares for the future condition of themselves and their children.

From this excess of labor, this actual want, and these distressing cares, our slaves are entirely exempted. They habitually labor from two to four hours a day less than the operatives in other countries, and it has been truly remarked by some writer, that a negro cannot be made to injure himself by excessive labor. It may be safely affirmed, that they usually eat as much wholesome and substantial food in one day, as English operatives or Irish peasants eat in two. And as regards concern for the future, their condition may well be envied even by their own masters. There is not upon the face of the earth, any class of people, high or low, so perfectly free from care and anxiety. They know that their masters will provide for them, under all circumstances; and that in the extremity of old age, instead

of being driven to beggary or to seek public charity in a poor-house, they will be comfortably accommodated and kindly treated among their relatives and associates. Cato the elder, has been regarded as a model of Roman virtue, and yet he is said to have sold his superannuated slaves, to avoid the expense of maintaining them. The citizens of this State may not aspire to rival the virtue of the Romans, but it may be safely affirmed, that they would doom to execration that master who would imitate the inhuman example of the Roman paragon. The government of our slaves is strictly patriarchal, and produces those mutual feelings of kindness on the part of the master, and fidelity and attachment on the part of the slave, which can only result from a constant interchange of good offices, and which can only exist in a system of domestic or patriarchal slavery. They are entirely unknown either in a state of political slavery, or in that form of domestic servitude which exists in all other communities.

In a word, our slaves are cheerful, contented and happy, many beyond the general condition of the human race, except where those foreign intruders and fatal ministers of mischief, the emancipationists, like their arch-prototype in the garden of Eden, and actuated by no less envy, have tempted them to aspire above the condition to which they have been assigned in the order of Providence.

Nor can it be admitted, as some of our statesmen have affirmed, in a mischievous and misguided spirit of sickly sentimentality, that our system of domestic slavery is a curse to the whole population—a moral and political evil, much to be deplored, but incapable of being eradicated. Let the tree be judged by its fruit. More than half a century ago, one of the most enlightened statesmen who ever illustrated the parliamentary annals of Great Britain, looking into political causes, with an eye of profound philosophy, ascribed the high and indomitable spirit of liberty which distinguished the Southern colonies, to the existence of domestic slavery; referring to the example of the free States of antiquity as a confirmation of his theory. Since those colonies have become independent states, they have amply sustained the glory of their primitive character. There is no coloring of national vanity in the assertion, which impartial history will not ratify, that the principles of rational liberty are not less thoroughly understood, and have been more vigilantly, resolutely and effectively defended against all the encroachments of power, by the slaveholding States, than by any other members of the confederacy. In which of our great political conflicts is it, that they have not been arrayed against every form of usurpation, and fighting under the flag of liberty? Indeed, it is a fact of historical notoriety, that those great principles of liberty, by which government is restrained within its constitutional limits, have their origin, and for a long time had their only abiding places in the slaveholding States.

Reason and philosophy can explain what experience so clearly testifies. If we look into the elements of which all political communities are composed, it will be found that servitude in some form, is one of the essential constituents.

No community ever has existed without it, and we may confidently assert, none ever will. In the very nature of things, there must be classes of persons to discharge all the different offices of society, from the highest to the lowest. Some of these offices are regarded as degrading, though they must and will be performed. Hence those manifold forms of dependent servitude which produce a sense of superiority in the master or employers, and of inferiority on the part of the servants. Where these offices are performed by members of the political community, a dangerous element is obviously introduced into the body politic. Hence the alarming tendency to violate the rights of property, by agrarian legislation, which is beginning to be manifest in the older States, where universal suffrage prevails without domestic slavery—a tendency that will increase in the progress of society, with the increasing inequality of wealth. No government is worthy the name, that does not protect the rights of property; and no enlightened people will long submit to such a mockery. Hence it is in older countries, different political orders are established to effect this indispensable object, and it will be fortunate for the non-slaveholding States, if they are not, in less than a quarter of a century, driven to the adoption of a similar institution, or to take refuge from robbery and anarchy, under military despotism.

But where the menial offices and dependent employments of society are performed by domestic slaves, a class well defined by their color, and entirely separated from the political body, the rights of property are perfectly secure, without the establishment of artificial barriers. In a word, the institution of domestic slavery supercedes the necessity of an order of nobility and all the other appendages of a hereditary system of government. If our slaves were emancipated, and admitted, bleached or unbleached, to an equal participation in our political privileges, what a commentary should we furnish upon the doctrines of the emancipationists, and what a revolting spectacle of republican equality should we exhibit to the mockery of the world? No rational man would consent to live in such a state of society, if he could find a refuge in any other.

Domestic slavery, therefore, instead of being a political evil, is the corner stone of our republican edifice. No patriot who justly estimates our privileges will tolerate the idea of emancipation, at any period, however remote, or any conditions of pecuniary advantages however favorable. I would as soon think of opening a negotiation for setting the liberty of the State at once, as for making any stipulations for the ultimate emancipation of our slaves. So deep is my conviction on this subject, that if I were doomed to die immediately after recording these sentiments, I could say in all sincerity, and under all the sanctions of christianity and patriotism, "God forbid that my descendants, in the remotest generation, should live in any other than a community having the institution of domestic slavery, as it existed among the patriarchs of the primitive church, and in all the free States of antiquity."

If the Legislature should concur in these general views of this important element of our political and social system, our confederates should be distinctly informed, in any communications we may have occasion to make to them, that in claiming to be exempted from all foreign interference, we can recognize no distinction between ultimate and immediate emancipation.

It becomes necessary, in order to ascertain the extent of our danger, and the measures of precaution necessary to guard against it, that we examine into the real motives and ultimate purposes of the Abolition Societies, and their prominent agents. To justify their officious and gratuitous interference in our domestic affairs—the most insulting and insolent outrage which can be offered to a community—they profess to hold themselves responsible for the pretended sin of our domestic slavery, because forsooth, they tolerate its existence among us. If they are at all responsible for the sin of slavery, whatever that may be, it is not because their ancestors were the agents, and authors of its original introduction.

These ancestors sold ours the slaves, and warrant-

ed the title, and it would be a much more becoming labor of filial piety for their descendants, to pray for their souls, if they are Protestants, and buy masses to redeem them from purgatory, if they are Catholics, than to assail their warranty and slander their memory, by denouncing them as "manstealers and murderers." But this voluntary and gratuitous assumption of responsibility, in imitation of a recent and high example in our history, but imperfectly conceals a lurking principle of danger, which deserves to be examined and exposed. What is there to make the people of New York, or Massachusetts, responsible for slavery in S. Carolina, any more than the people of Great Britain? To assume that the people of these States are responsible for the continuance of this institution, is distinctly to assume that they have a right to abolish it: and whatever enforced disclaimers they may make, their efforts would be worse than unprofitable on any other hypothesis. The folly of attempting to convert the slaveholders to voluntary emancipation, by a course of slander and denunciation, is too great to be ascribed even to fanaticism itself. They do not, indeed, disguise the fact, that their principal object is to operate on public opinion in the non-slaveholding States. And to what purpose? They cannot suppose that the opinion of these States, however unanimous, can break the chains of slavery by some moral magic. The whole tenor of their discussions, clearly demonstrate that their object is to bring the slaveholding States into universal odium, and the public opinion of the non-slaveholding States to the point of emancipating our slaves by federal legislation, without the consent of their owners. Disguise it as they may, "to this complexion it must come at last."

It is in this aspect of the subject that it challenges our grave and solemn consideration. It behooves us, then, in my opinion, to demand, respectfully, of each and every one of the slave holding States: 1. A formal and solemn disclaimer, by its legislature, of the existence of any rightful power, either in such State or the U. States in Congress assembled, to interfere in any manner whatever, with the institution of domestic slavery in S. Carolina. 2. The immediate passage of penal laws by such legislatures, denouncing against the incendiaries of whom we complain, such punishments as will speedily and forever suppress their machinations against our peace and safety.

Though the right to emancipate our slaves, by coercive legislation, has been very generally disclaimed by popular assemblages in the non-slaveholding States, it is nevertheless important, that each of those States should give this disclaimer the authentic and authoritative form of a legislative declaration, to be preserved as a permanent record for our future security. Our right to demand of those States the enactment of laws for the punishment of those enemies of our peace, who avail themselves of the sanctuary of their sovereign jurisdiction, to wage a war of extermination against us, is founded on one of the most salutary and conservative principles of international law. Every State is under the most sacred obligations, not only to abstain from all such interference with the institutions of another as is calculated to disturb its tranquility or endanger its safety, but to prevent its citizens or subjects from such interference, either by inflicting condign punishment itself, or by delivering them up to the justice of the offended community. As between separate and independent nations the refusal of a State to punish those offensive proceedings against another, by its citizens or subjects, makes the State so refusing an accomplice in the outrage, and furnishes a just cause of war. These principles of international law are universally admitted, and none have been more sacredly observed by just and enlightened nations. The obligations of the non-slaveholding States, to punish and repress the hostile proceedings of their citizens against our domestic institutions and tranquility, are greatly increased both by the nature of those proceedings and the fraternal relation which subsists between the States of this confederacy. For no outrage against any community can be greater than to stir up the elements of servile insurrection, and no obligation to repress it can be more sacred, than that which adds to the sanctions of international law, the solemn guarantee of a constitutional compact, which is at once the bond and the condition of our union. The liberal, enlightened and magnanimous conduct of the people in many portions of the non-slaveholding States, forbids us to anticipate a refusal on the part of those states to fulfil these high obligations of national faith and duty. And we have the less reason to look forward to this inauspicious result, from considering the necessary consequences which would follow, to the people of those States and of the whole commercial world, from the general emancipation of our slaves. These consequences may be presented as an irresistible appeal, to every rational philanthropist in Europe or America. It is clearly demonstrable that the production of cotton depends not so much on soil and climate as on the existence of domestic slavery.

In the relaxing latitudes where it grows, not one half the quantity would be produced, but for the existence of this institution; and every practical planter will concur in the opinion, that if all the slaves in these States were now emancipated, the American crop would be reduced, the very next year, from 1,200,000, to 600,000 bales. No great skill in political economy will be required to estimate how enormously the price of cotton would be increased by this change, and no one who will consider how largely this staple contributes to the wealth of manufacturing nations, and to the necessities and comforts of the poorer classes all over the world, can fail to perceive the disastrous effects of so great a reduction in the quantity, and so great an enhancement in the price of it. In Great Britain, France, and the United States, the catastrophe would be overwhelming, and it is not extravagant to say, that for little more than two millions of negro slaves, cut loose from tranquil moorings, and set adrift upon the untrod ocean of, at least, a doubtful experiment, ten millions of poor white people would be reduced to destitution, pauperism and starvation. An anxious desire to avoid the last sad alternative of an injured community, prompts this final appeal to the interests and enlightened philanthropy of our confederate States. And we cannot permit ourselves to believe, that our just demands, thus supported by every consideration of humanity and duty, will be rejected by States, who are united to us by so many social and political ties, and who have so deep an interest in the preservation of that Union.

I herewith transmit the proceedings and resolutions of numerous assemblages of the people, as well in several other States as in this, relative to this exciting subject.

Dough-Face Department.

ATROCIOUS CONSPIRACY.

The time has arrived when it is necessary for every American, for every citizen, more especially of the non-slaveholding States north of the Potomac, who value this union and its institutions, to speak out boldly, and to disclaim in the most unequivocal

manner, all connection with the horrid conspiracy which there can now be no longer a doubt the abolition fanatics of the north are plotting against the peace and lives of our southern neighbors. The late extensive plans developed in Mississippi the cargoes of seditious and treasonable tracts and pamphlets, a few days since noticed as arriving at Norfolk and Charleston, intended for extensive distribution among the negroes of the Carolinas and Virginia, and lastly the scenes, yesterday announced in our paper, as having occurred in Charleston, in consequence of the enormous quantity of these publications brought in the Columbia, steamer, from New York, in the public mail, clearly demonstrated a preconcerted and most atrocious conspiracy set on foot by the incendiaries of the Tappan and Garrison school, to light up the torch of civil war over every part of the Southern States.

We have, hitherto, from a reluctance to intermeddle with the freedom of discussion, abstained as much as possible, from touching on this exciting subject, hoping and trusting that the impressive lessons which the abolitionists received in New York, a year since, and the general sense of indignation which every honest citizen of the north had expressed against their revolting doctrines, would have deterred them from proceeding farther, and brought them back to a returning sense of propriety.—We have fondly cherished the expectation that the subject would have gradually died away, and been abandoned by the madmen who have agitated it. We have been most grievously disappointed; and we are now convinced that they are determined to proceed in their criminal designs, be the consequences what they may. It therefore behooves our fellow-citizens and our municipal authorities, to adopt, at once, such public measures as may enable us to co-operate with our friends at the south, against the base wretches who are the authors of these treasonable schemes. As we possess the power, and the means, it is our imperative duty to make common cause against, and to apprehend, these incendiaries, wherever they may be found, as the enemies and traitors to our country. Their vile pamphlets should be seized on as common nuisances against the morality and peace of the community, and as will effectually secure the public from being contaminated or exasperated by their inflammatory doctrines, either through the press or the post-office, or any other medium by which they can be circulated or disseminated among our citizens. The time has arrived when these excesses must be promptly put down, if we wish to save our country, our liberties and our laws, and prevent a scene of carnage and massacre, and of civil war, such as ought to make every man who reveres the land of his fathers, and the sacred compact which binds us together, tremble and shudder to think of.—N. York Evening Star.

THE ABOLITIONISTS.

In confirmation of the views we have uniformly expressed of the blighting influence which the misallied abolitionists have had on the true interests of the blacks, we give the following facts:—A few years ago, the people of Missouri elected their members of the State legislature with express reference to such an alteration of the constitution as might provide for the gradual, though ultimate extinction of slavery. This fact we gather from the public press of that State. A proposition for a convention to take the subject into consideration, has been submitted by the legislature to the people, and has been negatived by a majority of two to one. Thus do we find that in the places where the seeds of abolition had been planted by those who alone have the right to do it, all prospects of a good return are blasted by the men who would force their growth.

Whilst on this subject we will state our surprise that the abolitionists do not attempt at least to show that their labors have been attended with some good. A great majority of the reflecting part of the community, who yield not to the former in their wishes for the happiness of the blacks, but who are not therefore, insensible to the claims of our southern brethren, nor to the danger to which the Union is threatened, are perfectly satisfied that the Anti-Slavery Society has proved a complete *lucus a non lucendo*, and that its labors have not only been useless, but absolutely hurtful to those they would benefit. In such a state of things, the men who are agitating the whole community by their publications, and who are accused of riveting instead of breaking the fetters of the slave, are bound at least to come forward, and prove that they have done some good to somebody, and that their labors have been attended with some better effect, than procuring for themselves a by no means enviable notoriety.—N. Y. Com. Adv.

ABOLITION PAPER.

We perceive by a notice in the Christian Journal, that James G. Birney, is about to commence his Abolition paper, at New Richmond, Clermont County. Finding that his fanatical project would not be tolerated at Danville, Ky., nor in this city, he has at length settled himself on the border of Kentucky, and so near Cincinnati as to make the pestiferous breath of his paper, spread contagion among our citizens. We deem this new effort an insult to our slaveholding neighbors, and an attempt to browbeat public opinion in this quarter. We do therefore hope, notwithstanding the alleged respectability of the editor, that he will find the public so inexorably averse to his mad scheme, that he will deem it his interest to abandon it.—Cin. Whig Dec. 21

A few months since, we had the pleasure of forming an acquaintance with Rev. Wm. C. Munroe, an ordained minister of the Baptist persuasion, who had been some time pastor of a church of people of color in Portland. His heart, however, was by some means turned towards a mission to Hayti, and he came to this city to place himself under the proper board to be sent thither. On his way, he had an opportunity to test the correctness of such remarks as those once made by the editor of the New Hampshire Observer, denying the existence of a cruel prejudice against our colored fellow-citizens. Mr. Munroe, with his wife and child, were utterly and absolutely refused all means of conveyance by the public carriages from Portsmouth to Boston, and as the only means which he could obtain, they were obliged to ride the whole distance, 60 miles, during the memorable cold days of February last, in an open wagon. He made no noisy complaints. Colored people have learned to bear; but they can feel. It was, however, only by particular inquiry that we learned these facts. He received an appointment from the Baptist Board, and sailed for Port au Prince, in April.

Mr. Munroe received his education at the Faneuil Hall (N. J.) school, when it was in existence. He has also learned something in the seminary where Andrew Fuller and William Carey studied theology—in the closet praying over the Bible. He appears well as a natural speaker, and possesses good sense, sound judgment, a firm purpose, and as we believe a devoted heart, and we trust will do good. His letter indicates a good beginning at Port au Prince, and he ought to be helped. We have put up for him such books as we could obtain, and shall be happy to send him others that may be committed to our care.—Evangelist.

PUBLIC MEETING.

No way presents itself in which I can more successfully accomplish the service of this kind, than by detecting some of the material errors into which you and other advocates of slavery have fallen, in relation to the character, object, means, &c., of those who are known by the name of *abolitionists*. If now, you are, at length, emancipated from the dominion of those inflamed passions, by which it is evident, during your proceedings, you were held captive, and prepared to bring to the consideration of what I shall in truth and sincerity tell you, the calm and unclouded judgment, which I know, was possessed in former times, by some of your committee—

Last spring, I attended the Ohio Anti-Slavery convention—which was present at the several meetings of the American Anti-Slavery Society in New York, and at the Anti-Slavery Convention held in Boston. In these several occasions, I became acquainted, and deliberated, with—it may be, not less than one thousand persons, who may, fairly, be set down as among the most intelligent of the abolitionists. Subjects upon which the most diverse opinions were entertained, and which to ambitious and untrained minds would seem to agitate and dissentionous in the extreme, were

ould neither amalgamate with Christians, nor Christians with them—that *therefore* they never can be free from their native land,—the only way to elevate them to a proper sense and enjoyment of freedom, being to transport them to the hospitable and healthful shores of Palestine (which is impossible), or, for them to retain the power, I now possess over them, of using it, of course, with a merciful discretion, as I have always done, and solely for their good; making them, as it were, candidates for freedom, till, some day or other, in the lapse of time, they may be introduced into its full fruition. May it not be too, to have overlooked that most manly and satisfactory of excuses for inveterate habits of oppression—that they were introduced by his very worthy autocratical ancestors, who themselves being oppressors, had transmitted the fashion to their descendants, and now, without any agency of his, he had it "*entailed*" on him. Beside, may he not well have urged, that his oppressor would be curtailed, his wealth diminished, and his princely ease broken in upon, by removing the weight of his oppression! And still more fiercely, at the oppressed were his "*property*"—that it was a *known* concern—that no other people knew any thing about it, or had any interest in it—and that, if he was granting sympathy for his subjects (contented and

to husband and the children of her love, and to
 ast the wretch who is tearing her from them forever;
 low standing before you in the stillness of despair;
 we tear, started by the memory of former joys
 pursuing its way down her wan and haggard cheek;
 have you seen this—and has not conscience, stifled
 and sepulchred almost—as it has been, still wrung from
 you the silent acknowledgment, *this is my work!*
 When you are casting in your contributions to pro-
 vide for the distribution of the Bible in *foreign*
 lands, what are your feelings, on recollecting, that
 you withhold it from your "*domestic circle*," whose
 peace and quietness so much concern you? And
 does it cheer you, whilst praying for the heathen of
 distant climes, to have the idea rise before your
 minds, that you are, as far as in your lies, maintain-
 ing here, in your own country, at your own door, in

She has offered large rewards for the forcible and
honorable abduction of some of the most worthy citi-
zens of other States, for the exercise of rights guar-
anteed to them by the Constitutions under which
they live, and by *her own also*.
She has preferred incitements and had them return-
ed, *true bills*, against citizens of other governments;
who have never been within her jurisdiction; who
are not bound on any principle to possess a know-
ledge of her laws—merely that she might have a pre-
text to get them into her power. You assert, they
have violated your laws—yet you have offered no
proof by the publication of a single statute. Until
you do this, it is fearlessly affirmed, that they have
not violated a single statute of a southern State, for
which they could be convicted by an honest and im-
partial court and jury.

*This is not used with any mischievous intent—but as
received and most convenient designation of those per-
sons who are residents of the free States, and yet are the
defenders of slavery in the south.

*A very ancient barber who had handled many an honored revolutionary head, was sometimes called to perform his professional office on that of the venerable Dr. Smith, President of Princeton College. He held the Doctor in the highest possible respect—except in his moments of intoxication. When the fit was on him, and he was staggering about the street, if the Doctor came in sight, he was charged with doing the very things which the barber was enacting. The application I leave to you.

Will you not find it difficult, on applying the same moral code to the man-stealer and the man-buyer, to arrive at a different conclusion as to their comparative guilt? I will merely state the case—leaving you to make the application. *A poor sans culotte* heathen prince, on the coast of Africa—say, for instance—

New-Richmond, rather than at Cincinnati, where we reside. When the opposition of slaveholders had succeeded in defeating our *first* purpose, of publishing the Philanthropist in Kentucky, and in virtually expelling us from the very village in which we had our birth, by rendering our residence in its neighborhood disagreeable, if not dangerous, to ourselves and our family, our attention was directed to the subject of emigration.

Beside this, not a single number should ever find its way into the hands of any one south of the Ohio river, such publications as the Philanthropist purposes to be, have become absolutely necessary for the preservation of liberty in what are called the Free States. Whilst the spirit of Freedom which was awakened up in the north by the principles of the American Revolution, and which accomplished the liberation of her own slaves, has been

Measrs. Thome, Streeter, Allen, Wattles, Lyman, and any others who may be engaged in lecturing in this State, on the subject of Slavery, are requested to communicate to the subscriber, where they may be addressed, from time to time. A. A. GUTHRIE, Cor. Sec. Ohio A. S. S.

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Poetry.

From the Vermont State Journal.

Americans are afraid of Freedom.—Address of Rev. Mr. May, Oct. 22, 1835.

Afraid of Freedom? Can it be—
Or shall it e'er be told, that we,
Whose fathers fought to gain the boon,
Have learned to fear its claims so soon!
Let not the slumbering bones that lie,
On Bunker Hill, hear that reply.
Lest they be clothed with life and sense,
And 'rattle in their cerements;
Lest Warren spring again to life,
To grasp his sword for mortal strife,
And light again the fires
On Freedom's altar, which have stood,
Unhonored by the great and good;
The vestal fire, once blazing bright,
Extinguished by oppression's might,
As o'er them roll'd the purple flood,—
Drenched in a wave of human blood!
Oh, tell not the immortal dead,
We fear that prize for which they bled!
Hushed be our voice—untold the tale—
Lest under their rebuke we quail—
Accursed of our sires!
Afraid of Freedom? Is it so?
Is he, whose life you've saved, your foe?
Will he whose mouth you've filled with bread,
Turn viper like, and strike you dead?
Has man so much a demon grown,
That when you first his rights shall own,
With fury he will hail the friend,
That speaks to all his woe an end?
Will he on his deliverer fall,
Who breaks till now the helpless thrall—
On him dire vengeance pour!
No! 'tis a libel on our race;
At which fair Virtue hides her face;
While Justice lifts his sword on high,
Waiting to close the tragedy,
That waits the scene, if thus we bind,
The body, and th' immortal mind
Of millions of our flesh and blood—
Sons of our Father and our God;
Till he shall bid them in despair,
Rush like the lion from his lair,
And drench the land in gore!—LUCIUS.

Northern Spirit.

LETTER FROM GERRIT SMITH, ESQ.

The following letter we know will commend itself to the consciences of thousands who have stood in the ranks of our oppressors. A nobler example of *allegiance to truth* than is here furnished, we have never been called on to record. Who that has written a book, or nourished into popular favor a daring enterprise, or headed a controversy, has ever dared, at the dictate of conscience, to change his position in the face of universal obloquy? Such instances are rare; they stand at the summit of human magnanimity. While, however we cordially welcome Mr. Smith to the labor, reproaches, persecution and glory of this warfare, we see no ground to give up or modify the statements in our exposition of doctrines, to which he takes exception. As we understand them, we believe they express truths which are dear to us both.—*Emancipator*.

PETERBORO', Nov. 12, 1835.

To ABRAHAM L. COX, M. D.

Rec. Sec. of the Am. Anti-Slavery Society.

Dear Sir—You will please add my name to the list of members of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

The formation of this society on the principle of "immediate emancipation"—a principle, which my whole heart approved and my whole heart cherished—was an event very gratifying to me. From that time to the present I have been its friend; and have been waiting, but for the correction of its principal errors, to become a member of it. I cannot deny, and it is due to candor for me to say, that, during all this time, in which I have refused to unite with the Anti-Slavery Society through an unwillingness to appear to sanction its errors, I have forcibly felt that my union with it would be the most clear and influential expression of my approbation of its fundamental and excellent principles. These errors (and some of them are in the organic instruments of the society) remain, to a great extent, uncorrected. Nor are my views of them in any way changed. After having said so much of them through the press, it would be worse than useless for me again to specify and dwell on them. The society, of course, does not admit them to be errors. If it did, it would correct them.

Such, however, is the present crisis in the history of the Anti-Slavery Society, that I can defer my connexion with it no longer. The powerful combination to crush it—a combination comprising amongst its elements all political parties—and the manifest purpose to crush it, though it be at the cost of the reputation and property, and even lives of its members, urge me, and I trust, urge ten thousand others, by all that is precious in the great and just and eternal principles of the society, and by all that is precious in the rights of its persecuted members, to go forward now, its errors notwithstanding, and make the cause of the Anti-Slavery Society our cause, and the perils of its members our perils.

There is another consideration prompting me to connect myself with the society. The Heaven-derived right of free discussion, so fully and gloriously recognized and defended by our civil government, is assailed—repeatedly and fruitfully assailed—in the persons of the members of this society. Mobs, demagogues and newspapers, without number, are industriously at work to deprive this portion of our citizens of a sacred right, which, once lost to any, will soon be lost to all. The demand of the south is, that the north shall enact laws virtually destructive of this right; and men are not wanting at the north, mercenary and mean enough, to chime in with this demand.

My solemn belief is, that the Anti-Slavery Society is now so far identified with the right of free discussion, on account, not only of its manly defence of that right, but still more on account of the lawless and brutal endeavors to hinder its exercise of it, that if the Society be suffered to fall, the right of free discussion will fall with it. Entertaining this belief, I must not only not oppose the Society, but I must do all I conscientiously can to uphold it; and, it is evident, that, whilst I refuse to join it, my influence must be more against than for it. Never in our day had the friends of human rights and of civil liberty such an opportunity as they now have, in joining the Anti-Slavery Society, to testify, that, under the strongest temptations to "follow a multitude to do evil," they are still law-abiding, law-honoring men. Never had they such an opportunity, as they now have, by fraternizing with the persecuted defenders of great first principles, to manifest their own generous and fearless devotion to those principles.

I scarcely need say, after having repeatedly presented my views to the public on this subject, that the "immediate emancipation" which I advocate, is not the immediate elevation of the slave to our level of social and political rights. How rapid shall be his franchise; or to how severe a code of laws the public safety may require him to be subjected after his emancipation; and whether the doors of society shall ever be thrown open to him—are questions to be settled hereafter. All I now contend for—and I trust, that in this, every intelligent member of the Anti-Slavery Society agrees with me—is, that he be delivered immediately from slavery, and be raised immediately from a chattel—a thing—to a man. Nor need I disclaim for myself and for the Anti-Slavery Society, all purpose of interfering with the legislative power of the slave States, and of taking into our own hands the work of liberating the slaves in them. This work belongs to their masters, and to them only. The change, which we desire to see effected in the condition of the south, is a change for the south itself to effect. All we ask, and this we cannot be denied, for it is the correlative duty of an inherent right—is, that we may kindly, temperately, and prudently, address such arguments to our slaveholding brethren, as we think will persuade them to make this change. This is all we ask; and are they so unkind and cowardly as to dread the power of these arguments, and to dread the change which we propose to have effected, and which can be effected only

through a corresponding change in their own minds, and by the instrumentality of their own hands?

That immediate emancipation is fraught with the dangers and destruction, which are so vividly pictured by the imaginations of its opponents, I do not believe. The verdict of history is entirely on the other side; and assures us, that such emancipation is no less safe than righteous. Instance the British West India Islands,—where, instead of the scenes of violence and carnage so pathetically foretold, and strenuously insisted on by those, who were interested to perpetuate the abominations of slavery, not a single negro has raised his hand against his former owner, nor against the civil authority. But, if there were no example of the safety of immediate emancipation, I must still justify the doctrine, and urge the duty. What is American slavery?—I mean the slavery which is legalized and sanctioned in our country—the system which is so palpably wicked, that a plain man once remarked to me: "If it be not wrong, then I am not an accountable being—for then I am incapable of distinguishing between right and wrong; and God will not judge me." The grand and fundamental crime of this system is, the clothing of one erring mortal with absolute power over another. What are some of the practical features of the system? It so stands between God's Book and two millions and a half of men, that but few of the rays of the blessed and saving light of that Book are suffered to fall upon them;—and yet, in the face of the fact, that American slavery forbids the reading of the Bible and utterly condemns its authority, are we told that the Bible approves of American slavery! This system withholds from these hapless millions, God's own institution of marriage, and substitutes concubinage for it. It makes merchandise of them as perfectly as though they were but cattle of the field. Can I, may I, be reconciled to the perpetuity of this horrid system? or to any postponement of its abolition? No—as a man, to whose heart nothing that concerns man is foreign—as a member of a political community, whose corner-stone doctrine it is, that "all men are created equal"—as a Christian, whose holy religion requires the instant forsaking of all sin—I will, I must, continue to plead for the immediate cessation of this giant wickedness.

Very respectfully yours,

GERRIT SMITH.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY ADDRESS.

Every effort has been made by abolitionists to inform their fellow-citizens, north and south, of their object, and the means by which they expect to effect it. There has been no mysterious secrecy in holding their meetings. They have been held—when violence, slumbering, permitted—openly and in the face of day. The press has been used to publish their principles and plans. Although it may be somewhat discouraging to those who have not duly considered the inviolable opposition of evil principles to benevolent effort, to see how abolitionists—notwithstanding all their efforts to prevent it—are yet misunderstood, misrepresented, and vilified as citizens and men—still the only course we have left us must be unceasingly used. We must continue to publish and re-publish our principles, our means, our progress, &c., &c., taking care, that our action corresponds with our profession.

In this view, we re-publish to-day, the *Address to the Public*, made in September last, by the president and several of the principal officers of the American Anti-Slavery Society, with the sensible and manly preface of the N. Y. Evening Post. To this document, the Editor makes "a single exception"—as to "the duty of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia." Whilst we dissent from his views as to this part of the subject, we do it with all respect for the fearless and generous part he has taken in maintaining the great principles of freedom, as contended for by abolitionists. We would ask, may a time be looked for more favorable than the present—for the mind of the nation is awakened to the subject—for discussing *Emancipation* as applicable to the District of Columbia? Are any of the causes which would make the discussion dangerous now, subsiding? Will southern members of Congress hereafter, during their official attendance at Washington, purchase, to be driven to their distant plantations, fewer of their fellow-beings than they now do? Is there an encouraging prospect, that the slaveholding spirit will become more pure, gentle, and easy to be reasoned with, if not "created," than it now is? If so, what are the signs? And are the slaves in the sacred ten miles square, packing up, at midnight, their furniture, their thumb-screws, their scourges, and their chains?—Are they discontinuing their advertisements for the purchase of hundreds of their fellow-beings, and this too in the most influential public journals?—Are they discharging their agents, breaking up their factories, and preparing for migration to some darker and more dismal abode? If any thing of all this is doing; if slavery in the District is undergoing, at any reasonable pace, the process of dissolution,—then, indeed, would the persuasions of expediency call for, and be entitled to, a most deliberate hearing.

Now, to our mind, there is a peculiar propriety in Congress—representing the nation—making the first step in this great subject. 1st. It would, in a considerable degree, exonerate the nation from the charge of acting in opposition to its avowed principles. 2d. The members would have no direct interest in the decision—the probability, then, is, they would make it with greater deliberation and in greater wisdom. 3d. The extermination of slavery in the District of Columbia, would go far to exterminate it in the States—because it would add greatly to the weight of enlightened public opinion already pressing so heavily on those who are striving to perpetuate this condition.—*Ed. Phil.*

The annexed address to the public has been sent to us inclosed in a note from an officer of the Anti-Slavery Society, requesting us, in "behalf of the society whose document it is, and in justice to the public who have a right to the information it contains," to publish it in our columns this afternoon. We most cheerfully comply with their request; and furthermore invite the attention of our readers to this address, as not only one which is incumbent on them in fairness to peruse, but as one, the sentiments of which, with a single exception, deserve, in our judgment, their approval.

It is quite true, since the south seems determined that we shall discuss the question of slavery, whether we will or no, that we remembered the maxim which lies at the foundation of justice, *Hear the other side*. We have listened very credulously on the other side. We have heard with greedy ears, devoured up all sorts of passionate invectives against the abolitionists; and received as gospel, without evidence, the most inflammatory and incendiary tracts against them. While appropriating to them exclusively the epithets of incendiaries and insurrectionists, we have ourselves been kindling the flames of domestic discord, and stirring up the wild spirit of tumult. It is high time to pause and ask ourselves, what warrant we have for these proceedings! It is time to balance the account current of inflammatory charges, and see which side preponderates, whether that of the north, or the south.

We have here, in the subjoined official address, signed with the names of men whom we believe too upright to lie, and who certainly have shown that they are not afraid to speak the truth, an exposition of the creed and practice of the Anti-Slavery Society. We have already said, that, in our judgment, the matters contained in this document, with a single exception, deserve cordial approval. This expression we wish taken with a qualification. We do not approve of perseverance in sending pamphlets to the south on the subject of slavery in direct opposition to the unambiguous sentiments of the slaveholders; but we do approve of the strenuous assertion of the right of free discussion, and moreover, we admire the heroism which cannot be driven from its ground, by the maniac and unsparing opposition which the abolitionists have encountered.

The particular portion of the subjoined document which we except from our approval, is that, wherein it is asserted as the duty of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. That Congress has the constitutional power so to do, we have not the slightest doubt. But high considerations of expediency, in the largest sense of the word, should be

well weighed, before an exercise of that power is attempted. A spirit of conciliation and compromise should govern in the matter, as it did in the formation of our sacred *Magna Charta*. Every State in the confederacy should be considered as having an equal interest in the seat of the National Government, and the legislation for it should be of that neutral tint, which results from the mixture of contrary hues of opinion, and is in strong opposition to none. If the free States have a majority in Congress, yet paramount considerations of brotherhood and national amity, should prevent them from stirring the question of slavery, by introducing it in any collateral or insidious form. Whenever that question once fully comes into general discussion, it is destined to shake our empire to the centre. Let the commotion be then avoided in regard to a spot of ground which is not a pin's point on the map, and in the government of which, more than in almost any other question, the sentiments of the minority ought to be respected.

We are not sure that the Harry Percys of the south, are not by their hot menaces and inconsiderate vaunts, precipitating a discussion which must be entered into sooner or later, and may, perhaps, as well be undertaken at once. Be that as it may, their high and boastful language shall never deter this print from expressing its opinion that slavery is an opprobrium and a curse, a monstrous and crying evil, in whatever light it is viewed; and that we shall hail, as the second most auspicious day that ever smiled on our republic, that which shall break the fetters of the bondman, and give his enfranchised spirit leave to roam on the illimitable plain of equal liberty.

We have no right to interfere legislatively with the subject of slavery in our sister States, and never have arrogated any. We have no moral right to stir the question in such a way as to endanger the lives of our fellow human beings, white or black, or to expose the citizens of the north, attending to their occupations in the south, to the horrors of Lynch law. Nay, we repeat, what we have often asserted, with as sincere earnestness as any loud-mouthed anti-abolitionist, that we deeply deplore all intemperate movements on this momentous subject, in view of the dreadful wrecks which the meeting tides of contrary fanaticism must spread around their borders. But while we truly entertain these sentiments, we know no reason that renders it incumbent on us, to conceal how far our views are really opposed to slavery; and while we disclaim any constitutional right to legislate on the subject, we assert, without hesitation, that, if we possessed the right we should not scruple to exercise it, for the speedy and utter annihilation of servitude and chains. The impression made in boyhood by the glorious exclamation of Cato, that

A day, and hour of virtuous liberty,
Is worth a whole eternity of bondage,

has been worn deeper, not effaced, by time; and we eagerly and ardently trust, that the day will yet arrive when the clank of the bondman's fetters will form no part of the multitudinous sounds, which our country continually sends up to heaven, mingling, as it were, into a song of praise for our national prosperity. We yearn with strong desire for the day when Freedom shall no longer wave

"Her fustian flag in mockery over slaves."

With these remarks, and with the additional one that among our selected matters to-day, we, unsolicited, insert the address of the Massachusetts Abolition Society, we submit the following document to the attention of our readers:—

TO THE PUBLIC:

In behalf of the American Anti-Slavery Society, we solicit the candid attention of the public to the following declaration of our principles and objects. Were the charges which are brought against us, made only by individuals who are interested in the continuance of slavery, and by such as are influenced solely by unworthy motives, this address would be unnecessary; but there are those who merit and possess our esteem, who would not voluntarily do us injustice, and who have been led by gross misrepresentations, to believe that we are pursuing measures at variance not only with the constitutional rights of the south, but with the precepts of humanity and religion. To such we offer the following explanations and assurances.

1st. We hold that Congress has no more right to abolish slavery in the Southern States than in the French West India Islands. Of course we desire no national legislation on the subject.

2d. We hold that slavery can only be lawfully abolished by the legislatures of the several States in which it prevails, and that the exercise of any other than moral influence to induce such abolition, is unconstitutional.

3d. We believe that Congress has the same right to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, that the State governments have within their respective jurisdictions, and that it is their duty to efface so foul a blot from the national escutcheon.

4th. We believe that American citizens have the right to express and publish their opinions of the Constitutions, Laws and Institutions of any and every State and Nation under heaven; and we mean never to surrender the liberty of speech, of the press, or of conscience—blessings we have inherited from our fathers, and which we intend as far as we are able, to transmit unimpaired to our children.

5th. We have uniformly deprecated all forcible attempts on the part of the slaves to recover their liberty. And were it in our power to address them, we would exhort them to observe a quiet and peaceful demeanor, and would assure them that no insurrectionary movement on their part would receive from us the slightest aid or countenance.

6th. We would deplore any servile insurrection, both on account of the calamities which would attend it, and on account of the occasion which it might furnish of increased severity of oppression.

7th. We are charged with sending incendiary publications to the south. If by the term *incendiary* is meant publications containing arguments and facts to prove slavery to be a moral and political evil, and that duty and policy require its immediate abolition, the charge is true. But if this term is used to imply publications encouraging insurrection, and designed to excite the slaves to break their fetters, the charge is utterly and unequivocally false. We beg our fellow-citizens to notice, that this charge is made without proof, and by many who confess that they have never read our publications, and that those who make it, offer to the public no evidence from our writings in support of it.

8th. We are accused of sending our publications to the slaves, and it is asserted that their tendency is to excite insurrection. Both the charges are false. These publications are not intended for the slaves, and were they able to read them, they would find in them no encouragement to insurrection.

9th. We are accused of employing agents in the slave States to distribute our publications. We have never had one such agent. We have sent no packages of our papers to any person in those States for distribution, except to five respectable resident citizens, at their own request. But we have sent by mail, single papers addressed to public officers, editors of newspapers, clergymen and others. If, therefore our object is to excite the slaves to insurrection, the *MASTERS* are our agents!

10th. We believe slavery to be sinful, injurious to this and to every other country in which it prevails; we believe immediate emancipation to be the duty of every slaveholder, and that the immediate abolition of slavery, by those who have the right to abolish it, would be safe and wise. These opinions we have freely expressed, and we certainly have no intention to refrain from expressing them in future, and urging them upon the consciences and hearts of our fellow-citizens, who hold slaves or apologize for slavery.

11th. We believe that the education of the poor is required by duty, and by a regard for the permanency of our republican institutions. There are thou-

sands and tens of thousands of our fellow-citizens, even in the free States sunk in abject poverty, and who, on account of their complexion, are virtually kept in ignorance, and whose instruction in certain cases actually prohibited by law! We are anxious to protect the rights, and to promote the virtue and happiness of the colored portion of our population, and on this account we have been charged with a design to encourage intermarriage between the whites and blacks. This charge has been repeatedly, and is now again denied; while we repeat that the tendency of our sentiments is to put an end to the criminal amalgamation that prevails wherever slavery exists.

12th. We are accused of acts that tend to a dissolution of the Union, and even of wishing to dissolve it. We have never "calculated the value of the Union," because we believe it to be inestimable; and that the abolition of slavery will remove the chief danger of its dissolution; and one of the many reasons why we cherish and will endeavor to preserve the Constitution, is, that it restrains Congress from making any law "abridging the freedom of speech or of the press."

Such fellow-citizens, are our principles.—Are they unworthy of Republicans and of Christians? Ours are in truth so atrocious, that, in order to prevent their diffusion, you are yourselves willing to surrender at the dictation of others, the invaluable privilege of free discussion, the very birthright of Americans! Will you, in order that the abominations of slavery may be concealed from public view, and that the Capital of your republic may continue to be, as it now is, under the sanction of Congress the great slave mart, of the American Continent, consent that the General government in acknowledged defiance of the Constitution and laws, shall appoint throughout the length and breadth of your land, ten thousand censors of the press, each of whom shall have the right to inspect every document you may commit to the post-office, and suppress every pamphlet or newspaper, whether religious or political, which in his sovereign pleasure he may judge to contain an incendiary article! Surely we need not remind you, that if you submit to such an encroachment on your liberties, the days of our republic are numbered, and that although abolitionists may be the first, they will not be the last victims offered at the shrine of arbitrary power.

ARTHUR TAPPAN, President.

JOHN RANKIN, Treasurer.

WILLIAM JAY, Sec. For. Cor.

ELIZUR WRIGHT, Jr. Sec. Do. Cor.

ABRAHAM L. COX, M. D. Rec. Sec.

Members of the Executive Committee.

LEWIS TAPPAN.

JOSHUA LEAVITT.

SAMUEL E. CORNISH.

SIMEON S. JOCELYN.

THEODORE S. WRIGHT.

New York, Sept. 3d, 1835.

Pro-Slavery Ecclesiastics.

ABOLITIONISTS.

We copy the following from the narrative on the state of religion, adopted by the Synod of Philadelphia.

"In this day of public excitement, and fanatical excess, the Synod feel called upon to warn the churches against the agitators of the public mind, who, reckless of consequences, and desperate in spirit, are endangering the integrity of the American Union, and the unity of the Presbyterian Church, by the unchristian methods which they adopt to advance the cause of abolition. The Presbyterian Church, through her supreme judicatory, and other bodies, has often and freely expressed her views of the evils of slavery. But at the present crisis, it is earnestly recommended to all our people, to discountenance the revolutionary agitators, and unrighteous plans and doctrines of the self-styled Abolitionists, who it is firmly believed, are retarding more than all other causes combined, the progress of universal emancipation. If they succeed, they must rend the Church and the Union in twain, deluge the land in blood, and destroy the best hopes of the unhappy slaves. The Synod would be very far from even appearing to excuse the spirit of misrule and lawless violence, which has been exhibited of late in almost every part of our beloved country. But when such spirit is known to be rife and abroad in the land, the friends of Christ are called on in a special manner to shun the occasions of such excitement; and to sustain by every proper available influence, the dominion of law and public order. We cannot forbear to add, that those who take advantage of such a crisis to agitate the land, assume a terrible responsibility for all the consequences and the guilt of such a system, is aggravated by the consideration, that it seems to be a part of the design to produce public excesses and then profit by them.

"The Synod would use this opportunity most earnestly to recommend to the pastors and churches, the great redeeming cause of African Colonization, as especially fitted at the present juncture, to unite the friends of the unhappy colored man, and to prepare the way for great blessings to Africa and our own country."

A FAIR WARNING.

The Editors and Publishers of Emancipation and Abolition pamphlets and newspapers in the northern and middle States are hereby warned, that their attempt to palm off their incendiary publications upon the ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in this and other southern States through the post-office, are viewed with detestation and indignation by those to whom they are sent, and by the insulted community at large. Such papers will, as soon as their character is ascertained, be returned to the source or office whence they came. No servant of Christ in our ministry, can consent to hazard the honor of his master's cause by the most distant association with those who wave the brand of ruin more with the reckless ferocity of demons than with the common feelings of reasonable philanthropy. Large bundles of "The Emancipator," edited by one Birney, an apostate from the colonization cause, have reached the Nashville post-office, directed to the "Methodist Preachers." All these will go back—and if the post-masters at the east do their duty, they will not only demand all the postage from the publishers which the case may justify, but they will communicate to the southern public, the names of those monsters in human form, who would drench this portion of our country in blood, by disseminating publications, that, like the evil tongues of slander, scatter "firebrands, arrows, and death."

It is probable that ministers of other denominations have the same fancies—but of one thing we are most certain, that those who expect to enlist the Methodist ministers of the south-west in the awful project—inhuman as it is—dreadful—of instant, unconditional emancipation at any rate, except on the terms authorized by our State laws, have courted without their host. While the ministry of our church will spurn the insulting imputation, that "incendiary preachers" can be so lost to a sense either of honor, or shame or religion, as to be the "instigators of insurrection," they will be the first and foremost to drag to light and punish any wretch who may assume such monstrous and purposes of mischief—"Preachers," such monsters cannot be called; they have but one name, that of impostors; and that implies the utter impossibility of their being of us, or belonging to our itinerant connection!—*Western Methodist*.

VIRGINIA BAPTISTS, ON ABOLITION.—The following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted by the Shiloh Baptist Association of Virginia, at their recent meeting:

"Whereas the public peace is greatly interrupted, and the cause of religion threatened, by the efforts of a portion of the northern people, especially by the practice of sending abolition papers by mail, to various persons who have never called for them, Therefore,

"Unanimously Resolved, That we view the interference of the Northern Abolitionists in the question of slavery, as altogether unwarrantable; and that, as a religious body, we do most decidedly disapprove of the steps they are taking, and we would recommend to all our brethren to whom abolition papers may hereafter be sent, either to return them by mail, or to burn them."

The Protestant Episcopal Church, so far as is known, has not published any resolutions adverse to the Abolitionists. She does not call those whom she admits to her ordinances, "fanatics," "incendiaries," "firebrands," &c., &c. How pleasant it would be to make the same record of the three larger denominations of our country.

Anti-Slavery Ecclesiastics.

SYNODICAL RESOLUTIONS.

SYNOD OF CINCINNATI.—Official Report.—The Synod of Cincinnati consists of 78 Ministers, and 108 Elders from each Congregation within its bounds. Under the care of this Synod are 108 Churches 12 Licentiates, and 5 Candidates.

At the late meeting in Dayton, Thursday, October 15th, there were present 63 Ministers and 53 Elders, with 8 corresponding members.

Sylvester Sewell was chosen Moderator, and J. P. Vandike and J. L. Bellville, temporary Clerks.

Three appeals and six complaints, were presented and handed to the Judicial Committee. Five of these were from the Presbytery of Cincinnati, and four from the Presbytery of Miami.

The first of these that occupied the attention of the Synod, was the complaint of A. T. Rankin and others, against the act of the Presbytery of Cincinnati granting leave to a vacant church to employ Joseph C. Harrison, (a slaveholder of the Presbytery of Ebenezer) to preach steadily to them. Taken up on Friday afternoon, and after the parties were heard and the roll called, the complaint was sustained for the following reasons, viz:

1st. Because Mr. Harrison was reported by common fame, and by members of the Presbytery of Cincinnati, as a slaveholder; and regard for the word of God, and the resolution of this Synod in the year 1830, condemning slavery as a sin and scandal, required them to take measures for ascertaining the truth or falsehood of the report.

2d. Because to grant permission to a real or reputed slaveholder to labor among their vacancies, and especially one who lives without their bounds, and retains his membership in another Presbytery, is inconsistent with the duties required of Presbyteries, to promote the purity, peace and edification of the churches under their care.

J. L. Wilson gave notice that he would complain to the next General Assembly of the above decision, for the following reasons, viz:

1st. The decision is calculated, if not intended, to establish a non-intercourse between the south and north.

2d. The resolution adopted by the Synod on this subject, is not in accordance with their former testimony against slavery.

3d. That, in the present excited state of public feeling on the subject of abolition, such a decision is unexpected and hurtful.

Signed, JOSHUA L. WILSON, THOMAS B. CLARK, ARCHIBALD CRAIG.

The following resolutions on the subject of slavery were offered, and after considerable discussion, were adopted, viz:

1st. Resolved, That this Synod hereby declare that slavery, as it exists in these United States, is a great political, and moral, and religious evil; and that it is the imperious duty of every christian and patriot, to exert himself in his proper place, and with the talents and influence with which he is entrusted, to have this evil and all the concomitants and consequences of it, speedily removed.

2d. That while this Synod fully recognize the regular ecclesiastical standing of the Ministers and Elders, and private members of the Presbyterian church living in the slave States, who are more or less involved in the sin of slavery; yet they cannot expect that even divine institutions under their management, will be an extensive and lasting blessing, till the church, as a church, shall be perfectly clear of this evil—and hence,

3d. That this Synod cannot give any encouragement to any of the brethren in the ministry to those slaveholding States to come and labor among them, or make any arrangements to settle within the bounds of this Synod, unless these brethren shall give full and unequivocal evidence that they personally have no part nor lot in the sin of holding slaves.

4th. But while the Synod, in the exercise of benevolent sympathy for their brethren, are constrained thus to bear testimony against the sinfulness of the whole system of slavery; they have not forgotten that the whole nation are partakers in this sin, and have been necessary to its existence, and have incorporated in the result of their general prosperity, the products of the slave-trade, by which this great evil has been introduced. And they acknowledge cheerfully the obligation to co-operate in the removal of it, in such way as shall unite the whole nation in bearing the burden which may be incident to its removal. And, though it does not belong to us, as an ecclesiastical body, to intermeddle with the secular policy of the nation, yet, if it should seem good to the government of our choice, to make such pecuniary appropriations as shall tend to equalize the burden, and conciliate the feelings and unite the efforts of the whole nation; we, as the Ministers of Jesus Christ, and Elders of his church, would feel bound, in our proper sphere, to give to the measure our hearty co-operation and fervent prayers.

Notice was given by the following persons that they dissent from the third resolution.

J. L. Wilson, S. H. Crane, T. B. Clark, J. G. Burnett, F. Putnam, J. L. Bellville, M. C. Williams, Wm. King, P. Monfort, J. Whitaker, G. Sheldon, J. Burr, J. Hudson, J. W. Scott, B. Graves, J. Coe, T. E. Hughes, James McIntire, B. Murphy, A. Bullard, T. J. Biggs, C. A. Warren, C. Burrows, Wm. Graham, F. Monfort, &c. &c.

SYNOD OF THE WESTERN RESERVE ON ABOLITION.—The following preamble and resolutions were adopted by Synod of the Western Reserve, in Ohio, at their recent session:

The subject of slavery is one of the deepest interest, because it bears in the most threatening aspect towards our country and the church. The unusual irritability of public mind on this subject, and the differences of opinion among professing Christians, require great caution and kindness in the expression of our sentiments. At the same time we claim the right and the privilege, as free citizens of this republic, as individuals, and as synods, to speak out our opinion, on this and every other subject, which can affect the interest of the church and the nation. Therefore,

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Synod, slavery, as it exists in these United States, is a sin against God, a highlanded trespass on the rights of man, a great physical, political, and social evil, which ought to be immediately and universally abandoned.

Resolved, That in our attempts to remove this evil from our country, and the church of God, we will employ only the instrumentality of truth and love, gentle persuasion, and prayer to the God of the oppressed. And on no account will we encourage fanatical sentiments, riotous proceedings, or harsh and illegal measures.

Resolved, That we cordially sympathize with those, who, in the midst of a slaveholding population, are disposed to advocate truth and righteousness, but whose way is hedged up by public prejudice, and who are exposed to violence and outrage; and we pray the Father of mercies to enlighten and direct them, and to give them faith and steadfastness in the day of trial.

Resolved, That we consider it the duty of ministers and Christians, and of all our fellow citizens, by all suitable, conciliatory and Christian means; and especially, by cultivating a spirit of sympathy and prayer for the enslaved and their masters, of moderation and wisdom in the dissemination of truth and light, to endeavor to hasten the day of universal emancipation.

W. HANFORD.

Another Outrage.—We copy the following paragraph from the Louisiana Advertiser of the 18th ult. It is exceedingly painful to record such repeated instances of unlawful action: they give rise to melancholy forebodings.

—Alb. Jour.

We learn from a passenger who arrived here yesterday morning from Madisonville, that two persons had been detected in distributing seditious pamphlets among the slaves in the neighborhood of St. Helena. They were immediately tried by the citizens, and charges being fully proved, says our informant, they were sentenced to be hung forthwith!

And Another.—The following is from the Louisiana Journal published at St. Francisville, under date of August 13. The sovereign people were merciful in this instance, and were content with inflicting a punishment short of death, but the